

Chapter 21

Kizzuwatna and the Euphrates States: Kummaha, Elbistan, Malatya
Philology

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1. Introduction

Kizzuwatna is defined in a Middle Hittite letter from Mašathöyük as a “primary watchpost”, a border region, which the writer of the letter explains is just as exposed as Zikkasta in the area of Mašat itself.¹ Kizzuwatna itself had only been annexed to the Hittite power-sphere since the reign of Tudhaliya I in the mid 15th century BC as outlined in the treaty with Sunassura.² Prior to this it had been subject to Hurrian overlordship, with a basically Syrian geo-political orientation.³ Hittite access to Syria is one of the key themes associated with the area of Kizzuwatna. One traditional assumption has been that this passed through the Cilician Gates into Plain Cilicia and then over one of the Amanus passes into Syria. Cogent objections have been made to this view, especially when it involves the passage of armies through difficult terrain involving precarious passes.⁴ Where exactly its borders lay and where its main cities are to be located have remained problematic issues, although considerable advances have been made in the last 15 years.

The identity of the city/land of Kummanni and the city/land of Kizzuwatna was observed early on, as they alternate as readings in duplicate manuscripts of the same texts as well as in the titles of identical people or gods.⁵ This, along with an alleged textual association of Kizzuwatna with iron on the one hand and the coast on the other, led to an early identification of Kizzuwatna with Comana Pontica on the Black Sea coast. An exhaustive investigation by A. Goetze (1940) brought the location of Kizzuwatna down to the southern coast in plain Cilicia. The Kummanni that must have been its most important city was here associated with Comana Cappadociae, modern Şar, some 200km from Adana over the Taurus mountains up the Seyhan river and 75km over the Binboğa mountains from

The western and eastern border sections (2 and 4) were largely written by J.D. Hawkins, the introduction, central area and Kizzuwatna in the north (1, 3, 5) were mostly written by M. Weeden. Thanks are due particularly to M. Novák for discussions on various related issues both in Bern and at Sirkeli Höyük. For his views, however, which are frequently different to ours, see Novák and Rutishauser in this volume.

¹ *hantezzis auris* HKM 74, 12 (Alp 1991b: 262-3). At issue in the letter are the deployment of 20 individuals whether in the Ziggasta region or in Kizzuwatna. The dispute was thought weighty enough to be referred to the palace.

² KBo 1.5; Beckman ²1999a: no. 6A; Devecchi 2015: 73-90. Previous treaties: CTH 21 Telipinu (Hattusa) with Isputahsu (Kizzuwatna); CTH 29 Tahurwaili (Hattusa) and Eheya (Kizzuwatna); CTH 25 Zidanza II (Hattusa) and Pilliya (Kizzuwatna); CTH 26 Unknown Hittite king with Paddatiššu of Kizzuwatna. See Devecchi 2015: 72.

³ Treaty between Idrimi of Alalah and Pilliya of Kizzuwatna ALT 3 (Wiseman 1953: 31, Plate IV).

⁴ Ünal 2014.

⁵ Alternations between the readings Kizzuwatna and Kummani attested for the two main manuscripts of the ritual of Pilliya, king of Kizzuwatna // Kummani (CTH 479; Beckman 2013: 113-145): KUB 7.20 i 1f. // KBo 9.115+ i 1; in the duplicate manuscripts of a tablet catalogue mentioning tablets of the ritualists Ammihatna, Tulpi and Mati, *purapsi*-priests of Kizzuwatna // Kummani: KUB 30.42 iv 21 // ABoT 29+28 ii 19; in the colophons of the six duplicate manuscripts of the Ritual for Domestic Quarrel by the ritualist Mastigga, woman of Kizzuwatna (KBo 39.8 iv 32 // KBo 9.106+ iii 50') or of Kummani (KBo 44.17 iv 16' // KBo 2.3+ iv 14 // KUB 12.34+ iv 1' // VSNF 12.59+ iv 1), Miller 2004: 11 fn 16, 52-53 (Table 5). Further in the prayer KUB 14.4 (iii 23-25) Mursili II goes to the land of (the city of) Kummani in line 23 but to (the city of) Kizzuwatna in line 25 in order to celebrate the festival of Hebat of Kummani. See del Monte and Tischler 1978: 213-215.

Elbistan, the eponymous plain of which is drained by the Ceyhan, which also reaches down to the Cilician coast in the Adana region.⁶

The other most important city of Kizzuwatna, La(hu)wazantiya, has also traditionally been located in the plain of Elbistan, as is also supported by the apparent location of Old Assyrian Luhuzattiya in this area.⁷ More recent investigations mainly on the basis of Hittite cultic texts have put these two main Hittite cities of Kizzuwatna in the plain of Cilicia, while recent study of the Old Assyrian evidence has further entrenched MBA Luhuzattiya in the Elbistan region.⁸ The outline of a Kizzuwatna extending out of Cilicia up towards the northeast as far as the critical area of the Gezbel pass and the plain of Elbistan cannot be dismissed. The following sketch reviews the evidence for (i) the western borders (mainly the treaty with Sunassura of Kizzuwatna); (ii) the central area in classical Cilicia (based on Neo-Assyrian Annals, Hittite cultic and annalistic texts); (iii) the eastern borders, access to Syria (Neo-Assyrian Annals, Old Hittite Annalistic texts), and the adjoining Euphrates states (Annalistic texts, Iron Age Hieroglyphic Luwian inscriptions); and (iv) the question of a northeastern extension of the borders of Kizzuwatna.

2. The western border

The Sunassura treaty's description of the Hatti-Kizzuwatna frontier in the reign of Tudhaliya I begins and ends (breaks off) with two relatively fixed points: the town of Lamiya on the coast (identified with the classical river Lamos, modern Limonlu çay); and the river Samri, class. Saros, mod. Seyhan.⁹ At the outset¹⁰ the frontier is defined by Lamiya and Aruna, Hittite but not to be fortified, and Pitura, belonging to Sunassura (lines 40-45). Here the narrow coastal strip is backed by the vast bulk of the Toros/Bolkar Dağ between the two passes, the Göksu/Calycadnos valley and the Cilician Gates. It is crossed by no roads ancient or modern, and only few mountain tracks. The next two frontier defining pairs are the towns of Saliya (Hittite, to be fortified) and Zinziluwa and Erimma (Sunassura); and Anamusta (Hittite, to be fortified) and the mountain (of the town) Zabarasna (Sunassura).¹¹ Of all the toponyms in the treaty description (apart from the land of Ataniya) only Saliya and Zabarasna are attested elsewhere: Saliya in the Ulmi-Teššub and Kuruntiya treaties in the description of the Hatti-Tarhuntassa frontier;¹² and Zabarasna (Akk.) identified with (Hitt.) ^{URU}/KUR/^{HUR.SAG} *Saparassana*.¹³

In the next section (lines 52-57), the frontier description changes: on the side of Turutna the Hittite king is to hold; on the side of the land of Ataniya, Sunassura is to hold; coming from Luwana, Durpina is Sunassura's frontier, the Hittite king is to hold the Hatti side, Sunassura the Ataniya side.

Fourth section (lines 58-61): Serigga belongs to the Hittite king, Luwana to Sunassura, the river Samri is the border; the Hittite king is not to cross the Samri into Ataniya, Sunassura is not to cross it into Hatti.

Fifth section (58-66): coming from Zilapuna the Samri is the border, coming from [...] the Samri must be Sunassura's frontier; no crossings (end of tablet).

How are we to understand the geography of this frontier description? The most detailed treatment of this question in recent years has been by Forlanini.¹⁴ One point in his treatment of the frontier descriptions is open to criticism: each segment of the frontier description is regularly

⁶ The area of Tufanbeyli-Sarız and the northern region of the Adana plain on either end of the Seyhan have been recently surveyed by S. Girginer (Girginer 2005: 377-404).

⁷ Kümmel 1980-83: 335; Forlanini 1979: 169 fn. 169; Freu 1980: 203ff.; Barjamovic 2011. See also Alparslan in this volume.

⁸ Barjamovic 2011.

⁹ KBo 1.5: frontier description, iv 40-66; dating to Tudhaliya I; Wilhelm 1998: 359-370, esp. 370; translations Beckman, 1999: 17-34; Schwemer 2005: 97-106; Wilhelm 2011.

¹⁰ Lines 40-45.

¹¹ Lines 45-51.

¹² KBo 4.10 obv. 28-29; BT i 49-50

¹³ Del Monte 1992: 137, s.v. Šaparašana (note location near Karkamish suggested).

¹⁴ Forlanini 1988: 132-140; again, with addition of information from the Bronze Tablet, id. 2013: 14-20 with recent bibliography.

introduced in Hittite treaties by a toponym in the ablative (Akk. *ištu/itti* ^{URU}GN, Sunassura Treaty). These should not be treated as the points defining the frontier¹⁵ but as guides to the location of these points (“coming from ^{URU}GN” or as usually translated “in the direction of ^{URU}GN”). They should thus be omitted from actual points on the frontier, though they may assist, as they were intended, in locating the course of the frontier.

2.1 Location of Saliya

This town in the time of Hattusili III and Tudhaliya IV was a point on the Hittite side of the Hatti-Tarhuntassa frontier (Ulmi-Teššub treaty, Bronze Tablet),¹⁶ and for Tudhaliya I on the Hatti side of the Hatti-Kizzuwatna frontier, and the Hittite king had a right to fortify it, so we may assume that it was an important strategic position. Forlanini places it on the north side of the Toros/Bolkar Dağı (quite far to the west) well southwest of Hupisna/Kybistra), and its Kizzuwatnian corresponding towns Zinziluwa and Erimma to the south of the mountain. He does this because he takes the next two frontier points Anamusta (Hatti) and Mount Zabarasna (Kizzuwatna) to mark the upper and lower ends of the Cilician Gates pass, and indeed supposes that Zabarasna was the actual designation of the Cilician Gates themselves.

We find these locations problematic on a number of counts, and propose an alternative. First it is not likely that any significant route across the Toros/Bolkar Dağı existed, and if Saliya were where he places it, it is not clear why any fortification would concern Sunassura. Secondly, Forlanini’s interpretation of the route of the Hatti-Tarhuntassa frontier up to Saliya is open to criticism. The towns of Sinnuwanda, Zarnusa(ssa), Zarwisa and the High Mountain are not points on the frontier but simply directional markers, as noted above: the frontier points are Mount Lula, Harmimma/Uppasana, Mount Sarlaimmi and Saliya.

Accepting Forlanini’s identification of Mount Lula with Byz. Loulon near Ulukışla, we come after the unknown Harmimma/Uppasana to Mount Sarlaimmi (Luw. “exalted”) generally recognized as the Toros/Bolkar Dağı,¹⁷ where there is a ^DKASKAL.KUR, in which, given the locality, we may well recognize the great cave and spring of İvriz, a ^DKASKAL.KUR as we understand it. Saliya is then located in the direction of (“coming from”) the High Mountain which we may take as synonymous with Mount Sarlaimmi or perhaps a particular peak at its northeast end where it exceeds 3000m. This places Saliya where it has usually been located,¹⁸ somewhere on the southwest side of the road running from Ulukışla past Zeyvehöyük (Dunna) and Pozanti (Paduwanda) to the Gates; rather than with Forlanini bending the frontier back westwards towards Karaman.

The fortified Hittite posts of Saliya and Anamusta may then be understood as marking the northern ends of the pass; while the otherwise unknown Zinziluwa and Erimma should lie to its south, either west or east of the road running through the Cilician Gates.¹⁹

2.2 Anamusta and the river Samri

The next-named Hittite post is Anamusta, facing the Sunassura-held mountain of the town Zabarasna. Anamusta as specified may be fortified, thus presumably marked a strategic point on the frontier. The following section (lines 52-57) is defined as the pre-existing frontier, marked by Turutna (Hatti) and Durpina (towards Luwana, Sunassura), both unknown. Then (lines 58-61) the frontier is the river Samri with Serigga marking the Hatti side and Luwana that of Sunassura. The river is securely identified as the modern Seyhan, though M. Novák plausibly argues that the Hittite Samri was the

¹⁵ Cf. his remarks at Forlanini 2013: 1.

¹⁶ See chapter 18 fn. 9, this volume.

¹⁷ Del Monte and Tischler 1978; del Monte 1992, s.v. HUR.SAG Šarlaimi; Lombardi 1998.

¹⁸ Del Monte and Tischler 1978; del Monte 1992, s.v. Šalija.

¹⁹ Possibly the Ak Dağ, as suggested by Novák and Rutishauser 2012: 264, though a location further south opposite Anamusta (as we would place it) is to be preferred.

western branch of the river, today known as the Zamantı Su.²⁰ Whereabouts on this river should we place this stretch of the frontier?

Between Saliya and Serigga-Luwana on the Samri are the points Anamusta-mountain of Zabarasna and Turutna-Durpina, which should thus be sought east of Saliya in the area between the Cilician Gates and the confluence of the Zamantı. One might suggest that Anamusta was to be fortified to guard the next pass from Cilicia to Hatti, which looks as if it might be marked by the road from Pozantı up to Çamardı along the upper reaches of the river Ecemiş çay, as Novák places it, and the mountain of Zabarasna the Akdağ or Karanfil Dağı (so Novák and Rutishauser) or more likely Kale Dağı further to the East.

In the last section of the tablet (lines 62-66), the Samri remains the border in the direction of Zilapuna and of [...]. If the frontier description had continued on another tablet it might have continued up the Samri/Zamanti border even to the area of Fraktin, Taşçı and the Gezbel pass.

3. Central Kizzuwatna

In recent years both the major cities of Kizzuwatna (Kummanni/Kizzuwatna and La(hu)wazantiya) and the centre of Kizzuwatna itself have been moved by most scholars down into Plain Cilicia. The previous location of Kummanni and La(hu)wazantiya in southeastern Cappadocia and Elbistan respectively failed to explain the clear itinerary of Assyrian king Shalmaneser III (859-824 BC), who subdues the land of Katei of Qaue (later Que) in 839 BC after mustering troops from the local kings in northern Syria and crossing the Amanus to “go down” to capture the fortified cities Lusanda, Abarnani and Kisuatni.²¹ It is quite possible that Shalmaneser was acting partially on the request of Kilamuwa of Sam'al (Zincirli), who reports being oppressed by the king of the d[n]nym, the Phoenician/Aramaic name given to the people of Adana in the Iron Age. He thus may have crossed the Amanus at the Hasanbeyli pass leading from Fevzipaşa, rather than the Bahçe pass a little further to the north.²² Either route will have led him into the region of Osmaniye. An association with locations in Elbistan or southeastern Cappadocia seemed thus *prima facie* unlikely, unless there had been some movement or duplication of names in the mean-time.

Further arguments had been advanced for bringing Lawazantiya and Kummanni closer to the coast, including the mention of *lwsnd* in an Ugaritic letter of Šipti-Baal, an emissary of the king of Ugarit, who says he was writing from there.²³ This too seemed to demand a location closer to the coast if one assumed he was engaged in business typical of Ugarit's sphere of interests. However, the most decisive development in the study of the location of these main towns has come from M.C. Trémouille's analysis of ritual and festival texts in combination with the results of archaeological survey data.²⁴ The many fragmentary tablets of the extensive Hišuwa festival, which appears to have

²⁰ Novak, personal communication; cf. Novák and Rutishauser 2012.

²¹ A.O.102.10 iv 26 (Grayson 1996: 55); 11, 6'-7' (Grayson *ibid.* 58); 16 (Nimrud Statue), 145'-146' (Grayson *ibid.* 78); Kempinski and Košak 1982: 103; Yamada (2000: 202-205, following Astour 1963: 231 fn. 98) argues for a location of these cities in eastern Cilicia and associates the action against Katei in Que from 839 BC with the text of the summary inscription on a statue from Assur, where Shalmaneser confines Katei in the royal city of Pahri (possibly Misis/Mopsuestia), cf. “Paharawanean Granaries”, Phoenician version *'qrt p' r*, mentioned in KARATEPE §7 (Hawkins 2000: 49, with different reconstruction of events *ibid.* 41). The name Pahri is not attested in LBA sources, and has alternatively been located in the region of Düziçi near Karatepe, possibly classical Pagrum on the basis of its attestation in the Peutinger Table (Casabonne 2002: 187).

²² For the text see Donner-Röllig 1964: 24 (Kilamuwa, Zincirli), Tropper 1993; see further Yamada 2000: 199; Hawkins 2000: 41. Ponchia (2006: 211) additionally entertains the possibility that Shalmaneser (or his allies) may have entered Cilicia via the Ceyhan on the basis that a hieroglyphic inscription of Halparuntiya from Maraş/Gurgum celebrates a victory against the land of Hirika (MARAŞ 4 §2, Hawkins 2000: 256), which was associated with Hilakku (i.e. rough Cilicia) by Neumann (1979: 431ff.). However, there is no campaign against Hilakku in 839 BC, merely against Qaue, the main campaign against the coalition including Hilakku having been in 858 BC. Hirika must be in the Maraş area.

²³ PRU 5.63 = RS 18.40; see Kempinski and Košak 1982: 103.

²⁴ Trémouille 2001; Forlanini 2013.

Kizzuwatna and northern Syria as a central geographical focus, provide numerous geographical details.

Tablet 12 of the festival contains a passage that includes a number of place-names associated with Kizzuwatna.²⁵ Preserved are remains of six paragraphs with a largely parallel structure. Each paragraph contains the following three elements: (1) bread and flour (2) a sheep and a vessel of (Hassuwan?) wine²⁶ GN *pē harkanzi*²⁷ (3) The old men of the city walk with it. The cities named are:

Kummanna ²⁸	Zunnahara ²⁹	Adaniya ³⁰	Tarsa ³¹	Ellipra ³²
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Trémouille interprets this as the offerings being brought to a central place, probably Lawazantiya, from the individual cities named, but considers the order of the list to be significant as supported by numerous less extensive collocations of the same place-names as well as a number of others in different texts.³³ Mapping this list onto the known sites of Adana and Tarsus, as well as further sites identified by surveys conducted in the 1950s and 60s, she was able to demonstrate the existence of an east-west road across central Kizzuwatna. Forlanini interprets the passage as an itinerary with deliveries being made from one place to another starting at Kummani, each stage having a distance of between 12 and 37km.³⁴

Kummani for Forlanini is Sirkeli Höyük and Zunnahara is identified by him with Misis/Mopsuestia (12km southwest from Sirkeli), which has also been associated with the Iron Age Pahri mentioned in a summary inscription on the Assur statue of Shalmaneser III (859-824 BC).³⁵ The identifications Zunnahara and Pahri = Misis are possible if Pahri is only the Iron Age name of the same place, the name Zunnahara having been lost after the Late Bronze Age. An Ugaritic letter found in Ugarit at the house of Urtenu mentions day-stages of a journey including Adaniya and Zunnahara.³⁶ Ellipra is likely the same as Illubru mentioned as a town that rebelled against Sennacherib along with Tarzu (Tarsus) and Ingira. Forlanini has suggested that Assyrian Ingira (Hittite Egara) is likely to be classical Soli/Pompeiopolis, modern Viranşehir, due to local coins with the Aramaic legend *'grh*.³⁷ Ellipra/Illubru would thus be likely to be Yümüktepe near Mersin, and would probably have left a trace of its name in that of the river (classical) Liparis, which itself is not securely located but must have been in the region.³⁸

Other place-names with which those of the Kizzuwatnian east-west road are associated, even if they are not directly on it in each case, are Lawazantiya, Winuwanda, Sinuwanda, Arusna.

²⁵ KUB 20.52+KBo 9.123 (CTH 628.12.A); Goetze 1940: 54f.; Trémouille 2001: 61-62; Groddek 2004: 91-92; id. 2011: 126f.; Forlanini 2013: 3. Although there are many duplicates to this tablet, there are no duplicates to this passage.

²⁶ KUB 20.52+KBo 9.123 obv. I 25' 1 DUG *ha-aš-šu-wa-wa-an-ni-in* GEŠTIN.

²⁷ *pē hark-* can have the meaning "keep" (as per Forlanini 2013: 3), or it can have the meaning "present, deliver to", both of which might suit an itinerary. CHD P 255 translates "The people of place x present x offerings", which does not have to fit an itinerary, as the deliveries could be being made from the different places to a central location.

²⁸ KUB 20.52+KBo 9.123 obv. I 10' [...] *kum-ma-an-na-za-an ú-d[a-an-zi]*. Construed slightly differently to the other paragraphs, i.e. not part of the *pē harkanzi* clause.

²⁹ KUB 20.52+KBo 9.123 obv. I 13' ^[URU] *[z]u-un-na-ha-ra*

³⁰ KUB 20.52+KBo 9.123 obv. I 17' ^{URU} *a-da-ni-ia* Trémouille 2001: 61 fn. 29.

³¹ KUB 20.52+KBo 9.123 obv. I 21' ^{URU} *tar-ša*.

³² KUB 20.52+KBo 9.123 obv. I 25' ^{URU} *el-li-ip-ra*. Additionally a specific type of ox (^{GUD} *pi-ir-za-h[a-an-na]*) is also "delivered/kept" at this stage.

³³ Trémouille 2001.

³⁴ Forlanini 2013: 3-7.

³⁵ Forlanini 1979: 170; id. 2013: 6. See above note fn. 21.

³⁶ The place-names are: *mlwm*, *'adnyh*, *sngr*, *'ung*, RS 94.2406; Bordreuil-Pardee 2004: 115-124; iid. 2010: 4-6; Forlanini 2007b: 269-270; id. 2013: 5-6.

³⁷ Casabonne, Forlanini, Lemaire 2001; Forlanini 2013: 3-5.

³⁸ Forlanini 2013: 4-5 with fn. 13.

Lawazantiya is clearly close to Kummanni if the data of the ritual of Palliya, king of Kizzuwatna/Kummani are reliable, which was concerned with setting up the statue of Teššub of Kummani and was presumably performed in Kummani. On at least two occasions during the ritual pure water is fetched from the seven pure springs of Lawazantiya within one day, once by anonymous agents, once by the ritualist (^{LÚ}AZU).³⁹ A further text referred to by Trémouille concerns the festival of the month for Teššub and Hebat and involves bringing offerings to the sea, activities in (the city of) Winuwanda, and again fetching water from (the city of) Lahuwazantiya for (the city of) Kizzuwatna, as far as can be seen on a single particular day.⁴⁰ Not only do these texts show that La(hu)wazantiya must have been close to Kummanni/Kizzuwatna, but they indicate a hydrological feature, seven springs, in plain evidence today at the site of Tatarlı höyük, which is currently being excavated by S. Girginer.⁴¹

La(hu)wazantiya would also need to be close to the Amanus mountains, according to Trémouille, given that a further tablet of the Hišuwā festival requires that fruit tree branches be fetched from the Amanus. Reference is made to their possibly drying out, and the necessity of transporting them quickly, although the interpretation is not certain.⁴² This also fits the location at Tatarlı Höyük. As noted above, Kummani has been associated with Sirkeli Höyük 27km to the southwest of Tatarlı, just on the northern tip of the Misis-mountains, which would make an overly long journey if one wanted to retrieve pure waters from Tatarlı in one day travelling both ways on foot.

On the other hand Sirkeli has also been identified with Lawazantiya.⁴³ O. Casabonne points to the evidence of a classical inscription of the 4th to 6th centuries AD from Kızıldere, a village at a break in the Misis mountain range, which indicates the border of the territories Loandos and Kirkoteis, with Loandos clearly being on the east side.⁴⁴ Should this name be derived from Lawazantiya, which is possible, it might be evidence for a location of Lawazantiya at Sirkeli Höyük, a mere 9km to the northeast of Kızıldere, although there is nothing to prevent the name having moved from somewhere else over the intervening 1700 years, or to exclude that it refers to a larger territorial or temporary

³⁹ Tablet 1 §2 A (obv. 4-5) // B (obv. i 3-4) // D (obv. 3-4) pure water from the 7 springs of Lawazantiya fetched, come back in one day (§4), day 2 the ^{LÚ.MEŠ}purapsi- go off to Mount Kalzatapa (§5). The ^{LÚ}AZU seems to be able to manage another trip to Lawazantiya for pure water on day 2 (§§11-12); Trémouille 2001: 64-65, 77-78; Beckman 2013. If one is transporting water from seven springs (presumably in separate containers), one would imagine a relatively slow pace of travel. Rites also presumably had to be performed when one arrived.

⁴⁰ KUB 54.36 obv. 8 a-ru-ni pé-e-da-a-i “he takes to the sea”; KBo 17.103+ obv. 17’ ^{URU}ú-i-nu-an-da ar-nu-zi “brings to Winuwanda”; KBo 17.103+ obv. 20’ a-pé-e-da-ni UD-ti I-NA ^{URU}ki-iz-zu-wa-at-n[i] “on that day in (the city of) Kizzuwatna” (22’) ^{[U]RU}la-hu-wa-az-za-an-ti-ia ú-i-da-a-ar “[from] (the city of) Lawazantiya the waters”; (25’) nu ú-i-da-a-ar I-NA ^{URU}ki-iz-zu-w[a-at-ni] “and the waters to (the city of) Kizzuwatna. Trémouille 1996.

⁴¹ Ünal and Girginer 2010 (find of a hieroglyphic sealing roughly from the 15th century BC); see reports of S. Girginer in the series *Kazı Sonuçları Toplantısı*. It seems almost too good to be true that seven springs would have survived at a site over three millennia.

⁴² KUB 45.58 iii 7 (// KBo 46.141 rev. 1ff.): nu ŠA ^{GIŠ}IN-BI hu-u-ma-an-da-aš al-kiš-t[a-aš] (8) kar-ša-an-za IŠ-TU HUR.SAG am-ma-na (9) ku-it ^{LÚ}gur-ta-wa-an-ni-iš ú-da-an ḥa[r-ta] (10) píd-d[a]-an-zi-ma-at ^{LÚ}MEŠ ^{URU}u-da-an-na (11) [x x] x I-NA HUR.SAG kar-pa-an-na-an-zi (12) na-at hu-u-da-ak ú-da-an-zi (13) na-at ha-te-eš-zi a-pé-e-da-ni-m[a-at] UD.KAM-t[i] (14) ^{LÚ.MEŠ}pu-ra-ap-ši-e-eš a-na ^{GIŠ} (15) m[e]-n[a]-ah-ha-a[n]-[d]a im-me-ia-an-zi “a branch of every fruit-tree (is) cut off. The men of (the city) Udanna bring what the gurtawanni-man had brought from Mount Ammana, ... they are in the process of picking it up on the mountain, they bring it immediately - it dries out. On that very day the purapsi-men mix it into the wood.” It is clear that this passage could be susceptible to other interpretations, such as that one waits until the drying process is complete before the material is mixed into the wood, but the above translation with its geographical consequences still seems the most likely. Note that the geographical consequences inferred from this fragment are only valid if one assumes with Trémouille that the festival is being performed in Lawazantiya. This is nowhere apparent from the fragment itself.

⁴³ Literature at Savaş 2001: 98 fn. 17-25.

⁴⁴ Casabonne 2002: 189; Text Dagron and Feissel 1987: 150 no. 94.

political unit stretching towards the Amanus. Casabonne's identification of Kastabala (Hierapolis) just northwest of Osmaniye as the location of Kummani would mean that a further 10km (37km in total) would need to be negotiated on the way to collect water from the seven springs of Lawazantiya if at Sirkeli.⁴⁵ The textually attested closeness of Kummani and Lawazantiya might make ancient Kastabala a better site for Kummani with a Lawazantiya 10km away at Tatarlı Höyük; or one of the other sites in the area of Cilicia directly near the Amanus could be Kummani, as envisaged by Trémouille before the excavation of Tatarlı, but these solutions would leave Sirkeli, a large site with imperial Hittite remains, without a significant Hittite name.⁴⁶ The Kizzuwatna ritual may also indicate that Kummani is not more than a day away from Adaniya, given that activities are performed in the night of the 21st day in Adaniya, and then on the 22nd day "up in (the city of) Kizzuwatna".⁴⁷ If Kummani were to be found over in the east of the plain nearer to Tatarlı Höyük, some 60km away from Adana, one would have to assume that different people were performing the rite on the 22nd day to those performing it on the 21st day. The textual evidence thus does not present an entirely coherent picture without reading extra data into it.

The further names that are mentioned alongside the main staging points of the east-west highway in Kizzuwatna are located in various regions. Winuwanda, which was mentioned in the festival of the month for Teššub and Hebat, was convincingly identified by Trémouille on the basis of its occurrence in the ritual text cited above, as well as the similarity of the names, with classical Oeniandos/Epiphaneia, modern Gözenler, also in the eastern section of Cilicia, 19km southeast of Tatarlı.⁴⁸ Sinuwanda occurs in the Annals of Arnuwanda I in a list of towns and a bridge that the king fortified: Zunnahara, Adaniya, Sinuwanda and a broken name beginning Hiya-.⁴⁹ It is further mentioned in connection with Zunnahara in a historical fragment attributed either to Hattusili I or Mursili I, but the same paragraph also contains the names of various places that have little or no connection with Kizzuwatna: Hattusa, Purushanda, Arimatta.⁵⁰ According to the Bronze Tablet and the duplicate passage of the Ulmi-Teššub Treaty, Sinuwanda was a stage on the border with Tarhuntassa facing Mt Lula and the "Sphinx"-mountains.⁵¹ Given the possible identification of Lula with Byzantine Loulon, it may have lain on the other side of the Cilician Gates from Kizzuwatna.⁵² Arnuwanda would thus have been fortifying towns on both sides of the Gates, apparently proceeding from east to west and from south to north.

Arusna occurs several times in combination with Adaniya, as if they formed a duality of some kind. A tiny fragment of a historical text in a late-looking script, possibly a copy of a text of Hattusili I, mentions (the city of) Ataniya, possibly in connection with gifts (?) of lapis-coloured garments, and then Arusna, which may be destroyed by the author, before Kummani is mentioned in an unclear

⁴⁵ Casabonne (2002: 190) suggests the journey could be negotiated along the Ceyhan/Pyramos, which today runs 3km away from Kastabala, but 12km from Tatarlı.

⁴⁶ Trémouille 2001: 66.

⁴⁷ KUB 30.31 iv 27-30 (Lebrun 1977: 93-153).

⁴⁸ Trémouille 2001: 64 fn. 53.

⁴⁹ KUB 23.21 - Annals of Arnuwanda I (CTH 143) obv. 4' [^{URU}zu-u]n-na-ha-ra-an (5) ... [^{URU}]a-da-ni-ia-an GiŠ ar-m[i-iz-zi ...] (6) ... [^{URU}šī-n]u-wa-an-da-an [^{URU}hi-ia-x[?]] [...] (7) ... [^{URU}ūl-e-te-nu-un] Houwink ten Cate 1970: 58-59; For the discussion as to whether [^{URU}hi-ia-...] is Hiyawa, a LBA form of the Neo-Assyrian place-name Que, see Carruba 2008: 66-67; Hajnal 2003: 40-42; id. 2011: 247f.; Gander 2010: 50f.; 2012: 4f.; Forlanini 2012b; id. 2013: 5 fn. 15. There is, as Forlanini points out, no trace of -w[a] on the photographs (cf. particularly BoFN 01110b) and the drawn traces on the copy resemble -r[a] or -m[a].

⁵⁰ KBo 3.54 mentions (ll. 16-17) [^{URU}zu-un-na-ha-ra-aš ...] [^{URU}šī-nu-wa-an-ta-aš] in the same paragraph as (l. 11) [^{URU}ha-at-tu-ša-aš] (12) LÚ [^{URU}pu-ru-uš-ha-an-da] (13) x-ha-ra-aš-ha-pa-aš [^{URU}ta-aš-ša-x] (14) -iš-ta-aš [^{URU}a-ri-ma-at-ta] (15) ... [^{URU}pa-ru-ki-it-ta-aš] Kempinski and Košak 1982: 87-116; de Martino 1992: 24-26; id. 2003: 127-149; Trémouille 2001: 62; see also Forlanini, this volume.

⁵¹ BT i 43 (Otten 1988: 12).

⁵² Forlanini 1988: 133f.

context.⁵³ Adaniya and Arusna are mentioned together as the possible destination of a journey in an oracle text.⁵⁴ The likely identical town of Arussana is mentioned in a list of cults that would, according to Forlanini, be encountered on a journey from Ussa in the south Konya region through the Cilician Gates to Adaniya.⁵⁵ On this basis he seeks a location of Arusna to the northwest of Adaniya in the valley of the Çakit Su, a tributary of the Seyhan, at the classical site of Augusta. If we locate Kummani in eastern Cilicia, however, the order of appearance Ataniya, Arusna, Kummani in the Old Hittite annalistic fragment above would more strongly indicate a location between Adana and the Amanus, in which case Forlanini's previous location of Arusna at Sirkeli Höyük should once again be given some consideration.⁵⁶ Lists of cults may mention places according to a logic that is different to the order in which they are encountered, while annalistic texts are not quite as liable to such non-geographical principles of order, although they may be governed by other narrative principles. The evidence is very slim, however.

Mountains and rivers are frequently mentioned in the ritual texts associated with Kizzuwatna. The ritual of Palliya, king of Kizzuwatna/Kummani, presumably performed in Kummani, mentions rites of the *purapsi*-men on day two and sacrifices on day twelve to various manifestations of the storm-god and Hebat on Mt Kalzatapa.⁵⁷ This may be identical with the Mt Kalzatapiyari mentioned in tablets six and ten of the Hišuw festival.⁵⁸ Two rivers are closely associated with Lawazantiya: the Alda and the Tarmana.⁵⁹ Two passages from the Hišuw festival have apparently identical lists of offerings to 40 mountains, and another 40 rivers.⁶⁰ The vast majority of these cannot be identified. Some were clearly in northern Syria, others in Cilicia.⁶¹

This link to the north Syrian region on the other side of the Amanus appears to have been cultically important. It is possibly in this light that one should view the mention of the river Puruna/Purana in tablet 12 of the Hišuw festival, which has been identified variously with the Pyramos (Ceyhan) and with the Afrin in Syria.⁶² The offerings to the Puruna in tablet 12 of the

⁵³ KUB 48.81: (1) *ša-aš^{URU} a-ta-ni-[ia...]* (2) *nu-uš-ši TÚG^{HLA} ZA.GÌN* (3) *ša-aš^{URU} a-ru-u-u[š-na ...]* (4) *ša-an har-ni-in-k[u-un ...]* (5) *nu-za pa-ah-ša-nu-a[n(-)...]* (6) *ku-um-ma-an-n[i]š²* de Martino 2003: 150-151; Forlanini 2013: 19.

⁵⁴ KUB 46.37 rev. 7: mentions *a-na-hi-ša^{URU} a-ru-uš-na* after (rev. 6) *ne-ri-qa pa-iz-zi pa-ra-a-ma^{URU} tu-ma-an-na pa-iz-zi*, which has no geographical connection with Arusna; (rev. 12) *kum-man-ni* (rev. 14) *a-da-ni-ia^{URU} a-ru-uš-na*. Berman 1978: 121-123; Forlanini 1979: 169; Trémouille 2001: 62; Forlanini 2013: 19.

⁵⁵ KUB 57.87 obv. i 1-13; Forlanini 2013: 16-17.

⁵⁶ Forlanini 1979: 169; Trémouille 2001: 62 fn. 36.

⁵⁷ KUB 7.20 obv. 16 // KBo 9.115(+) i 13; KBo 44.98+ ii 6 // KUB 45.76 obv. 14' (Beckman 2013); Groddek 1999: 31.

⁵⁸ Tablet 6: KBo 15.66 obv. iii 6' (ms. D); Groddek 2010: 380; Forlanini 2013: 8 fn. 28.

⁵⁹ KBo 17.102 rev. 18'-19'. Besides (the city of) Lawazantiya mention is also made of (the city of) Kizzuwatna (ibid. 21), possibly meaning that Kummani/Kizzuwatna-city was also close to these two rivers. The name Tarmana should be related to Hurr. *tarmani* "spring".

⁶⁰ Groddek 2010; the Alda is not mentioned in the list of rivers, but is mentioned for a special round of sacrifices at a later stage in the same tenth tablet of the ritual (B iii 29 ^{ID}*al-da ka-lu-ut-ta*, Groddek 2010: 366, "Der Opferrunde des Flusses Alda bricht [der] König ein Brotlaib").

⁶¹ Nanni and Hazzi (A i 29) are certainly in Syria, being the Jebel Aqra/Mount Casius; Zallumara, if to be identified with the place-name Zalwar should also be on the Amuq side of the Amanus, a Mt Zallurbi is mentioned in connection with Kizzuwatna and Mukiš in a Hurrian fragment from Kayalıpınar (Rieken 2009; Forlanini 2013: 11); Mt Zara is associated with the town Izziya (probably Issos - Kinethöyük in eastern Cilicia, Forlanini 2013: 13). Mt Manuzziya appears to be reaching into Cilicia directly after the Amanus (Trémouille 2001: 66). Mursili II sends a "substitute ox" to Kummani after being struck with a speech impediment by the storm-god of Manuzziya (CTH 486, 14-18, Goerke 2015). Any of the peaks east of Osmaniye leading into the passes would be good candidates for this mountain. Finally, Dunniyari is likely to be identical with the Mt Tunni visited by Shalmaneser III, as Muliya may be with Mt Muli, both to be connected with the Bolkar Dağları across the west of Cilicia.

⁶² 12th tablet of Hišuw cf. KUB 20.52+ iv 7; KBo 33.215+ obv. ii 5 *ši-i-ia pu-ra-na*; Tablet 10 ms. B ii 16, 18 Pu, or Pur to read Puruna (Dincol 1974: 40, Groddek 2010: 382). Puru/ana wrongly conflated with Puratti (Euphrates) at del Monte and Tischler 1978: 543-544; Wilhelm 1992: 28-30 perhaps = Afrin.

Hišuwā festival, might seem more comprehensible if the Puruna crossed by Hattusili I (see below) was the Pyramus in Cilicia, but can also be understood if one remembers the trans-Amanian scope of these rituals, especially when Hassuwan wine may be involved in the key passage of Hišuwā Tablet 12 showing the itinerary through central Kizzuwatna, as we saw above.

4. The eastern frontiers and the Euphrates States

4.1 Population movement in the Mittani Treaty

The following passage concerning population movement occurs in the Mittani Treaty between Suppiluliuma I and Šattiwaza of Mittani and includes the these place-names:

ÉRIN^{MEŠ} URU *gur-ta-li-iš-ša* ÉRIN^{MEŠ} URU *a-ra-wa-an-na*
 KUR^{URU} *za-az<-zi>-ša* KUR^{URU} *ka-lam-aš-ma* KUR^{URU} *tim-im-na*
 HUR.SAG^{URU} *ha-li-wa* HUR.SAG^{URU} *kar-na* ÉRIN^{MEŠ} URU *dur-mi-it-ta* KUR^{URU} *al-ha*
 KUR^{URU} *hur-ma* HUR.SAG^{URU} *ha-ra-na mi-iš-lu* ša KUR^{URU} *te-ga-ra-ma*
 ÉRIN^{MEŠ} URU *te-bu-ur-zi-ia* ÉRIN^{MEŠ} URU *ha-az-ga* ù ÉRIN^{MEŠ}
 KUR^{URU} *ar-ma-ta-na*⁶³

In this group of place names it seems preferable to understand ÉRIN^{MEŠ} as “people” rather than “troops”, the dual sense being implicit in its Akkadian reading.⁶⁴ Whether there is a clear distinction here between ÉRIN^{MEŠ} and KUR is not certain, though it might refer to different types of population groups. In its context this passage describes how with the revolt of Išūwa in the reign of Tudhaliya II (III) these population groups, Hittite subjects, also revolted and “entered” (i.e. fled to?) the land of Išūwa; but when Suppilulimma reconquered Išūwa, he retrieved and resettled these Hittite subjects, and Hittites occupied their place (in Išūwa?).

The interest in the passage resides in the very wide range of population movements which it describes.⁶⁵ of the known, approximately locatable peoples, Arawanna and Kalasma belong to northwestern Anatolia, Durmitta, Alha and Hurma to the central area, Tegarama, Teburziya and Armatana to the eastern Euphrates frontier and beyond. It may be that some of these peoples were more mobile than sedentary. Here it is specifically Tegarama and the lesser known Armatana with which we are concerned, the former particularly connected to Išūwa, the latter to Kizzuwatna.

4.2 Tegarama

This toponym apparently a land as well as a city is attested in both Old Assyrian⁶⁶ and Hittite sources.⁶⁷ The relatively numerous Old Assyrian references do not permit a very precise location but place it generally in the Taurus mountains between the Euphrates crossings and the land of Kaneš.⁶⁸ The Hittite sources though less numerous, point more clearly to a geographical location. Tegarama was closely connected with Išūwa, a land unusually well defined.⁶⁹ Westward across the Euphrates was the plain of Malatya, dominated since early times by the site of ancient Malatya-Arslantepe.⁷⁰ In the time of Tudhaliya II (also known as Tudhaliya III), Išūwa, conquered by Tudhaliya I⁷¹ and held by Arnuwanda I,⁷² revolted and many peoples and lands (ÉRIN^{MEŠ} ú KUR.KUR^{MEŠ}) escaped from Hatti

⁶³ CTH 51: KBo 1.1 obv. 10-16, 19-24; translation, Beckman ²1999a: no. 6A. See also Alparslan, this volume.

⁶⁴ Cf. Weeden 2011a: 218-220.

⁶⁵ Specifically ll. 11-13, 20-22.

⁶⁶ Nashef 1991, s.v. Tegarama.

⁶⁷ Del Monte and Tischler 1978, s.v. Takarama; del Monte 1992, s.v. Takarama

⁶⁸ Barjamovic 2011: 122-133; Barjamovic and Gander 2012 s.v. Tegaram(m)a.

⁶⁹ Klengel 1976-80, s.v. Išūwa; Hawkins 1998a: 281-293; Alparslan, this volume.

⁷⁰ Hawkins and Frangipane 1993, s.v. Melid, A, B.

⁷¹ Treaty of Tudhaliya I with Sunassura of Kizzuwatna CTH 41: KBo 1.5 i 8-24 (Schwemer 2001b); cf. Annals, CTH 142: KUB 23.11, 27-34.

⁷² Mita of Pahuwa text, CTH 146: KUB 23.72 rev. 13, 36.

into Išuwa, including “half the land of Tegarama” (*mi-iš-lu ša KUR^{URU} te-ga-ra-ma*).⁷³ Also in this reign in the “concentric invasions”:⁷⁴ “from this direction the enemy Azzi came and ravaged all the upper [lands] and made Samuha the frontier. But the [enemy] Išuwa came and ravaged [the land] Tegarama. Also from this direction the enemy Armatana came and he too ravaged the Hatti-lands and the city Kizzuwatna [he made the frontier]”. Samuha the capital of the upper land is now firmly established at Kayalıpınar downstream from Sivas on the Kızılırmak,⁷⁵ so it is clear that the Azzi enemy passed from Erzincan and the Upper Euphrates (Kara Su) through to Sivas, while the Išuwa invasion would have passed through to the south of this.⁷⁶

Before his conquest of Karkamiš, Suppiluliuma had left his son Telipinu the Priest to deal with the outlying town of Murmurik, but the latter left a force there and returned to report to his father, finding him in the city Uda.⁷⁷ In the absence of Telipinu the Hurrian enemy besieged the Hittite force at Murmurik. When word of this came to Suppiluliuma, he mobilized and marched to the land of Tegarama, where he reviewed the army in Talpa and sent ahead the crown prince Arnuwanda and Zida the Commander of the Guard. These defeated the enemy who apparently [fled] from below the city (Murmurik). A damaged 2 lines mention “[...]s of the land Tegarama”, certainly not to be restored as “[he flees to the mount]ains of the land Tegarama” (where Suppiluliuma was).⁷⁸ Suppiluliuma then goes down to Murmurik and not finding the Hurrian enemy commences the siege of Karkamiš.

A similar reverse picture is given by Mursili II.⁷⁹ In his 9th year he had been in Karkamiš organizing the succession of his late brother Šarri-Kušuh, then came up to the land of Tegarama where he was met by Nuwanza the Master of the Wine returning from a successful campaign against (Azzi) Hayasa. Nuwanza and the lords persuaded Mursili that it was too late in the season to proceed again against Azzi-Hayasa, so he conducted a more local campaign ending up in Hakpis, Hattusa and winter quarters in Ankuwa.

He returned to his Azzi campaign in the following (10th) year, but the Azzians rather than face him retreated to their fortified cities. Mursili went against two of these, Aripisa and Dukkama, the former described as being “in the mi[dst of the s]ea (Š[Ā A.A.]B.BA), a fortification [holding on] to crags, very steep.”⁸⁰ This clearly has a bearing on the location of Azzi-Hayasa (see further below).

These references from the reigns of Tudhaliya II/III (*hekur^d Pirwa*), Suppiluliuma I (Mittani Treaty, *DS*) and Mursili II (*AM*) are sufficient to give an idea of the location of Tegarama. It lay west of Išuwa (Elazığ) and south of the line Azzi-Samuha (Erzincan-Sivas). It lay on a route Hatti-Karkamiš in the mountains: from it one went down to (*DS*), or came up from (*AM*) Karkamiš: i.e. on a southeast/northwest pass through the Taurus. It offered a suitable mustering point for Hittite armies to and from Karkamiš, also from an Azzi campaign. The traditional identification with Gürün/Gauraina is based solely on a vague similarity of name.⁸¹ Though it does lie in a west-east Taurus pass, Kayseri-Malatya, it is in the narrow, constricted valley of the Tohma Su, and furthermore this route would hardly be leading to Karkamiš. Nor is there any good reason to place Tegarama in the plain of

⁷³ Above, fnn. 63, 65.

⁷⁴ The *hekur-Pirwa* text of Hattusili III, *CTH* 88: *KBo* 6.28, obv. 11-12

⁷⁵ Tablet excavated at Kayalıpınar: Rieken 2014: 43-54.

⁷⁶ At this point we may note that there is no good reason to place Tegarama in the plain of Malatya as do Barjamovic (2011) and Barjamovic and Gander (see further below).

⁷⁷ *DS* frag. 28: *KBo* 5.6 ii 9-46. Forlanini distinguishes two separate towns Uda, an eastern one in the plain south of Erciyes Dağı, and a western one identified with class. Hydē to the north of Ereğli (Konya) (Forlanini 1990: 109-127). Presumably the first is meant here, which would place Suppiluliuma close to the Tegarama route through the Taurus.

⁷⁸ *KBo* 5.6 ii 37-39. Barjamovic (2011: 128) follows the restorations of Güterbock (1956: 93) and Hoffner (1997: 190). But the Hurrians defeated at Murmurik near Karkamiš are not likely to have fled towards Suppiluliuma in “[the mountains (uncertain restoration)] of Tegarama”.

⁷⁹ *KBo* 4.4 iii 18-23 (Extensive Annals, Goetze 1933: 124-127).

⁸⁰ *KBo* 4.4 iv 4-8 (Extensive Annals, Goetze 1933: 132-135). See also Alparslan, this volume.

⁸¹ First proposed by Forrer in 1920 and generally followed: Del Monte and Tischler 1978: 384.

Malatya, which has clearly always been dominated by ancient Malatya itself at all periods. It is for these reasons that we would locate Tegarama in the beautiful and well-watered plain of Elbistan which fulfills much better the requirements for this location.

A further support for this location of Tegarama is its identification with the land Til-garimmu⁸² of the Neo-Assyrian sources, specifically inscriptions of Sargon and Sennacherib. Sargon's expedition in 712 against the disloyal Tarhunazi "the Meliddean" (alias "the Kammanean") distinguishes the royal city Melid from the land Kammanu.⁸³ When Sargon seized Melid, Tarhunazi fled to Til-garimmu (i.e. a more remote part of his kingdom), but the city surrendered and was planted with Assyrian settlers. Later in 695 BC Sennacherib had to dispatch an expedition against it, describing it as "a city of the Tabal border".⁸⁴ Clearly it was a distinct part of the kingdom where again the plain of Elbistan offers a suitable location. The IZGIN stele from here records the colonization of the plain by a king of Malatya.

The Hieroglyphic Luwian inscriptions from Elbistan, KARAHÖYÜK and IZGIN, should have provided information on the local toponyms, but largely fail to do so because of our inability to read them. In particular KARAHÖYÜK is largely concerned with the land written POCULUM.PES.*67 (REGIO) and its Storm-God which must surely designate (part of) Elbistan itself, but we have no idea how to read it, despite unlikely attempts to do so.⁸⁵ The city-site Karahöyük itself probably had the same name as the land to judge from a pair of Malatya reliefs MALATYA 9, 10 showing the Storm-Gods of the city Malatya and of the city POCULUM receiving libations.⁸⁶ KARAHÖYÜK also records (§16) the donation to the author of three cities of the land POCULUM.PES.*67 (REGIO).⁸⁷ Lukarma (*lu/a/i-kar-ma* (URBS)), *Hant...pi(ya)* (FRONS.*282-*pi-i(a)* (URBS)) and Zu(wa)maka (*Zu(wa)-ma-ka* (URBS)). The attempt to associate *Lukarma* with Tegarama should not arouse much enthusiasm, as it is based on a comparison of unknowns.⁸⁸

IZGIN 1 is an inscription of a king of Malatya celebrating his colonization of Elbistan, including the building of a city (L.428-*tà*, site of Izgın?), and his settlement there of Malatyans and (people of) a river (written with, unidentified logogram, possibly the Euphrates).⁸⁹ He mentions a further city written PITHOS.GRYLLUS (URBS) (reading unknown). IZGIN 2, a secondary inscription referring to the same (or similar) events, records incorporating the frontiers of the city [...] L. 286, and of the city *Hiliki*, and refers again to the city PITHOS.GRYLLUS. The city *Hiliki* must surely in context be in Elbistan and could hardly be connected with *Hilakku*, Rough Cilicia. As noted, toponym information from these two local inscriptions is disappointingly meagre.

4.3 Kummaha and Commagene

The problem with the Hittite city of Kummaha⁹⁰ is its identification or otherwise with the classical land of Commagene and Iron Age Kummuh, attested almost exclusively in Neo-Assyrian⁹¹ and Urartian sources,⁹² from Assurnasirpal II to Sargon II (c. 870-708 BC) and as an Assyrian province (7th century BC). The Babylonian Chronicle reference to "the city Kimuhi on the bank of the Euphrates", scene of fighting between Babylonian and Egyptian forces 607-606 BC, is likely to refer to its chief city, later Samosata/Samsat.⁹³ The country, well defined by the Euphrates to the east and

⁸² Fales 2014c: 43-44, s.v. Til-Garimmu; Barjamovic 2011: 130f., but note that there is no "apparent discrepancy", if the weak Gürün identification is discounted.

⁸³ *Annals*, 10th *palu*, Fuchs 1994: 465.

⁸⁴ Heidel 1953: 150f., v. 29-52.

⁸⁵ Hawkins 2000: 288-291. See Alparslan this volume for Bossert's interpretation.

⁸⁶ Hawkins 2000: 310-312, MALATYA 9 and 10.

⁸⁷ Hawkins 2000: 294.

⁸⁸ Laroche 1950: 49; Hawkins 2000: 294.

⁸⁹ Hawkins 2000: 314-318.

⁹⁰ Del Monte and Tischler 1978 s.v. Kumaha; Del Monte 1992 s.v. Kumaha

⁹¹ Bagg 2007.

⁹² Diakonoff and Kashkai 1981 s.v. Qumaha.

⁹³ Grayson 1975 chron. 4, ll.13, 16; Hawkins 1980-83, s.v. Kummuh (§2)

south and a range of mountains (Engisek/Malatya Dağları) to the north and west, has produced Hier. Luw. inscriptions, mainly the work of a father-son dynasty Suppiluliuma and Hattusili, late 9th - early 8th centuries B.C. mainly from the two hill-top sacred sites of Boybeyınarı and Ancoz.⁹⁴ The huge tell and lower town of Samsat now drowned by the Atatürk Barrage, yielded to rescue excavations before the inundation only insignificant fragments.⁹⁵ None of these yielded a self-designating toponym. Only the relatively recently discovered (now lost again to inundation) rock inscription MALPINAR did preserve in a somewhat obscure context the toponym *ku-ma-ha*(URBS).⁹⁶

The question which confronts us in the relationship between classical *Commagene*/Assyrian (KUR) ^{URU}*Kummuhu*/Uartian KUR *Qumaha*, Hier. Luw. *Kumaha*(URBS), and the Hittite KUR ^{URU}*Kummaha*; and secondarily, what was happening in the territory of later Commagene in the Middle-Late Bronze Age?

Of the relatively few attestations of the city Kummaha in the Hittite texts, one is particularly suggestive of location, the others offering indications of varying degrees of vagueness. The clearest indication is found in the Deeds of Suppiluliuma⁹⁷ where Mursili reports that his grandfather (Tudhaliya II/III) after fighting the Kaska, set out (from Hattusa?) against Hayasa. Accompanied by Suppiluliuma, Tudhaliya [ar]riv[ed] at ([a]-ar-[aš]) the land Ha[yasa] and encountered the Hayasa king in battle below the city Kummaha (text breaks off). Bearing in mind the line of Hayasan invasion up to Samuha in the same reign, we see good reason for placing this city Kummaha at Kemah (class. Camacha) on the upper Euphrates (Forrer followed by Garstang and Gurney),⁹⁸ rather than in Commagene (Goetze)⁹⁹ from which it is hard to envisage a campaign against Hayasa setting out.

The city appears in the Mita of Pahhuwa text: Mita attacks cities of the land Kummaha; and when the Hittite king's (Arnuwanda I) army was in the land Kummaha, [people] escaped and went into Pahhuwa.¹⁰⁰ These references too favour Kemah.

The *evocatio* texts CTH 716 and CTH 483¹⁰¹ group it with Alziya, Papahhi and Hayasa, which puts it in the same area. Other references throw little light on the location, but none suggest a location in later Kummuh-Commagene. However, a curious variant in an inscription of Tukulti-Ninurta I may suggest just that. His inscriptions regularly include in passages of conquest summaries the lands of Alzi, Amadani, Nihani, Alaya, Tepurzi, Purulumzi, often bracketed by Mt Kašiyari and Šubari¹⁰² but in one case KUR *alzi* is replaced by KUR *kummuhi*.¹⁰³ Alzi lay southeast of Išuwa in the area of Ergani and Cermik, extending probably up to the Euphrates.¹⁰⁴ The substitution is most easily understood if Kummuh was at that date on the adjacent west bank of the Euphrates.¹⁰⁵ Yet it is over three centuries, admittedly an undocumented period, before Kummuh reappears in the reign of Aššurnāširpal II firmly located in Commagene. What could be the connection between Hittite Kummaha of the LBA, plausibly located at Kemah and Kummuhi known to Tukulti-Ninurta I? Could Kummaha (people) have moved at the end of the LBA from the upper Euphrates down into Commagene? Or could there have been some link between the two areas to explain a double appearance of the toponym? Unfortunately Commagene is both a historical and archaeological blank for the LBA and EIA. No Hittite toponyms can be confidently located here; nor has archaeology produced any substantial picture in spite of the intensive survey and rescue operations occasioned by

⁹⁴ Hawkins 2000: 334-340; 345-351, 356-360

⁹⁵ Özgüç 2009: 55-56.

⁹⁶ Hawkins 2000: 340-344; Ehringhaus 2014: 101-105.

⁹⁷ DS frag. 13, ll. 40-44.

⁹⁸ Del Monte and Tischler 1978 s.v. Kumaha, 221

⁹⁹ Goetze 1940: 5 fn. 21

¹⁰⁰ KUB 23.72, obv. 31; rev.16.

¹⁰¹ KBo 2.9+, i 35; KUB 15.34 i 58.

¹⁰² A.0.78.2, 26-29; A.0.78.5, 25-29; A.0.78.60, 29-33; A.0.78.23, 35-37; A.0.78.24, 23-31

¹⁰³ A.0.78.9, 20; Nashef 1982, s.v. Kumuhi, 171f., but the land *Kadmuhi* is quite separate.

¹⁰⁴ Hawkins 1998a: 285f.

¹⁰⁵ *pace* Nashef 1982: 171f.

the building of the Samsat¹⁰⁶ barrage and subsequent inundation of the area. While some answers might have been forthcoming from the region's probable central site, the massive mound and lower town of Samsat itself, this is now beyond reach of investigation.

Only one possible Hittite toponym could be considered for location in the direction of the territory of Commagene: Armatana, which came “thence” (*edizma*) to ravage Hatti and [make] Kizzuwatna [the frontier],¹⁰⁷ thus presumably to be located between the Amanus range and the Euphrates, an area which could have been extended up into southwestern Commagene. The other attestations of Armatana however are not helpful. Its people were among the very diverse population groups which fled into Išuwa in the reign of Tudhaliya II and were retrieved by Suppiluluma I and resettled (see above). But since these groups stretch from west (Arawanna, Kalasma) to east (Hurma, Tegarama, Tepurziya and perhaps furthest southeast, Armatana), this is not a very clear indication. Otherwise the country appears in the Deeds of Suppiluliuma in entirely fragmentary and uninformative contexts.¹⁰⁸

4.4 Ismirikka

Another document relating to this area is the treaty of Arnuwanda I with the men of Ismirikka.¹⁰⁹ This land otherwise unattested apart from two uninformative fragments is attached by internal reference of the document closely to Kizzuwatna and also more problematically to Mittani. An Early Iron Age Hieroglyphic Luwian reference to a Storm God of S(a)marika has been taken as a late reappearance of the toponym¹¹⁰ and the frequently proposed identification with the Turkish town of Siverek (Armenian Seavorak)¹¹¹ would place it in an intelligible position along the east bank of the Euphrates, south of Alše, northeast of Karkamis, northwest of Mittani, where Arnuwanda I, with his relations with Pahuwa, may well have had an interest. The sole exemplar, the middle part of a one column (obv. and rev.) tablet with some 56 tolerably preserved lines, contains usual clauses concerning fugitives, reports of treason, and against revolt, provision of fighting men and protection of the royal family.¹¹² Towards the end, three sections relate apparently as understood to the settlement of named Ismirikkans in Kizzuwatna.¹¹³ Of the ten preserved personal names, seven may be analysed as being Luwian, and three probably as Hurrian. The first line of the first of these sections might be taken as exemplifying the transaction:

Elhate, man of Ismirikka, [in the land] Kizzuwatna afterwards Zazlipa (is) his city, but he was in Wassukkana.¹¹⁴

That is the Ismirikkan is to be settled in Kizzuwatna, having been a resident of Wassakkana, the well known capital of Mittani, plausibly but still hypothetically identified with the site Tell Fekheriye¹¹⁵ near Ras el Ain. The second section approximately agrees with this interpretation: small groups (4, 2, 1, 2 persons) of Ismirikkans “in the land Kizzuwatna GN is their city” (in two of the four cases their city of origin is specified). In the third section, less well preserved, non-Ismirikkans are similarly given settlement in Kizzuwatna.

¹⁰⁶ But cf. Summers 1993; id. 2013.

¹⁰⁷ “Concentric invasion” text text: see above, fn. 74.

¹⁰⁸ Del Monte 2009: 192.

¹⁰⁹ CTH 133: KUB 36.41 (+) KUB 23.68 + ABoT 1.58; edition Kempinski and Košak 1970: 191-217; translation, Beckman ²1999a: no 1A; also Ünal 1976-80, s.v. Išmirika.

¹¹⁰ Hawkins 2000: 87-91: KARKAMIŠ A1a, §§3, 37; Melchert 1988: 37; Hawkins 2004: 364

¹¹¹ Goetze 1940: 44-48, esp. 48 with fn. 186

¹¹² obv. ll. 13'-28', rev. ll. 1-10.

¹¹³ (§1) rev. ll. 13-16; (§2) ll. 17-21; (§3) ll. 22-24.

¹¹⁴ rev. ll. 11-12.

¹¹⁵ Bonatz 2014: 72.

The problem of understanding arises with the last four Ismirikkans of the first section (after Elhate): each ends “in (the land) Kizzuwatna Wassukkana (is) his city” (fourth: “but he is in Kizzuwatna, Wassu[kkana...]”). Before that the last three have: “Ziyaziya (is) his city”.

How can this possibly be understood, in what possible sense can Wassukkana be said to be in Kizzuwatna? It is surely unthinkable that Kizzuwatna ever, under any circumstances, extended east of the Amanus mountains over 300km to Tell Fekheriye, or anywhere in that region. Could there be a new, second Wassukkana founded actually in Kizzuwatna under Mittanian domination? This might seem the least implausible understanding of the text as we have it. It might leave us with Arnuwanda settling Ismirikkans and others from Mittanian territory east of the Euphrates in Kizzuwatna, unless all cases of Wassukkana in the text in fact refer to this putative new foundation in Kizzuwatna.

4.5 Atalur¹¹⁶

In the context of the eastern boundary of Kizzuwatna one further toponym must be considered, Mount Atalur, since Forlanini places it as part of the north Amanus range, where a pass from the east crosses the range at the Bahçe or Nur Dağ pass.¹¹⁷ However it has been plausibly argued that it is to be placed substantially further east than the Amanus.

The evidence for Mount Atalur comes almost exclusively from two very different sources: (1) the bilingual annals of Hattusili I (late 17th century BC);¹¹⁸ (2) annals of Shalmaneser III (mid-9th century BC).¹¹⁹ Hattusili's account of his 17th century campaign is relatively straightforward (Hitt. ii 11-23; Akk. obv. 31-36): he attacked and destroyed Zaruna, and proceeded against Hassu(wa) where he faced the people supported by the army of Halab and defeated them on mount Atalur (Akk. only). He then crossed the river Puruna/Puran and conquered and sacked Hassu(wa). The geographical sequence Zaruna-Atalur-Puruna-Hassu(wa) is clear.

Shalmaneser's visit to Mount Atalur occurred on his first campaign, 858 BC, of which an extended account is given on the “Kurkh Monolith” (i 51-ii 13). However a more recently discovered slab (found 1986) has a text largely duplicating that of the Kurkh Monolith but ending at the end of the first campaign (Nimrud Slab), and its last 15 lines contain a significantly different version from the monolith.¹²⁰ This passage is considerably clearer and topographically easier to understand, and being earlier than that of the Monolith, may be regarded as more reliable, showing as it does that the latter text has already been subject of some garbling. According to Kurkh Monolith, having fought a battle at Lutibu of Sam'al (Sakça Gözü)¹²¹ he passed along the Amanus range, crossed the Orontes river and attacked Alimus (or Alishir), a strong city of the Patinean King, apparently by-passing the capital city Kunulua (Tell Tayinat).¹²² He defeated an opposition coalition, then (following the text of Nimrud Slab), went from Alimus down to the sea, clearly at the mouth of the mouth of the Orontes, washed his weapons and set up an inscribed statue of himself.

Then “on my return from the sea, I went up Mount Amanus and cut beams of cedar and juniper; I went up Mount Atalur, I came where the statue of Anumhirbi was erected, I set up my statue with his statue; the cities Taya and Hazazu, great cult centres of the Patinean I conquered...”. Again the geographical sequence is clear: the Sea-Mt Amanus- Mt Atalur -(Taya)-Hazazu (modern A'zaz).¹²³ The most probable interpretation is that Atalur is not part of Amanus range (as has been argued), but a separate mountain between the Amanus and Hazazu /A'zaz.¹²⁴ As it happens, there is just such a mountain-range, the Kurt Dağ, the southern extension of the Kartal Dağı, with peaks

¹¹⁶ Del Monte and Tischler 1978, s.v. Atalura; Bagg 2007, s.v. Atalura.

¹¹⁷ Forlanini 2013: 9-13.

¹¹⁸ KBo 10.1, obv. 33 (Akk. only; Hitt. omits mountain name).

¹¹⁹ Kurkh Monolith, Grayson 1996: 17, A.0.102.2 ii 10; Nimrud Slab *ibid.* 25, A.0.102.3, 91.

¹²⁰ A.0.102.2, ii 5-13 // A.0.102.3, ll. 85-99, Grayson *loc. cit.*

¹²¹ Bagg 2007, s.v. Lutibu

¹²² Identification recently confirmed: excavation at Tell Tayinat, building XVI of a loyalty oath tablet (*adê*) to Esarhaddon sworn by the *bēl pāhiti* of KUR *Kinaliya* (Lauinger 2012: 90f.).

¹²³ Hawkins 1972-5: 240, s.v. Hazazu.

¹²⁴ Hawkins 1995b: 95.

ranging from 800-1100m, lying to the west of A'zaz, on the east side of the rift valley.¹²⁵ Further supporting the connection with Anumhirbi is the fact that Tilmenhöyük, plausibly identified with Zalbar/Zaruar,¹²⁶ one of his capitals, lies only some 50km to the north, at the western foot of the Kartal Dağ range.

How does the placing of Atalur on the Kartal-Kurt range fit with the campaign of Hattusili I against Hassu with the sequence Zaruna-Mt Atalur-Puruna crossing-Hassu? In fact it fits well but must depend on the identification of the Puruna/Puran river.¹²⁷ The first point Zaruna is hardly attested elsewhere: in fragmentary form on a land donation¹²⁸ and also as a town of Hatti attacked by Idrimi.¹²⁹ The first may show a connection but not necessarily geographical proximity between the É^{URU} *zarun*[...] and [É^{URU} *luhuz*]*zandiya*; the second that Zaruna lay in Hatti, thus north up the rift valley, east of the Amanus, not west of the Amanus in Kizzuwatna, ruled at that time by an independent king.¹³⁰

In advancing this argument one comes up against Forlanini.¹³¹ His proposal to identify Hassu with Mamma, in the neighbourhood of Maraş requires him to place Zaruna, Atalur and the Puruna in Cilicia. Thus for him the Puruna is the Pyramos-Ceyhan river,¹³² Atalur one of the Amanus peaks marking a pass (Bahçe or Nur Dağı), with Zaruna to its west in eastern Cilicia. On this topography it is actually hard to see how Hattusili could have passed from Zaruna and Atalur across the Puruna-Ceyhan to attack Hassuwa in the area of Maraş. Nor are his arguments for placing Atalur in the Amanus range strong, being based on the unclear and garbled account of the Kurkh Monolith rather than the clearer Nimrud Slab (A.0.102.3); and his placing of Zaruna is supported solely by the attachment to Atalur.

If as argued above Zaruna is unlikely to be west of the Amanus in Cilicia, and Atalur is on the Kartal-Kurt Dağı range, what about the Puruna river? Its placing in Cilicia and identification with the Pyramos-Ceyhan is not strong either, especially as a very plausible alternative identification is available, namely the river Afrin.¹³³ Indeed this placing of the Hattusili sequence rift valley - (Zaruna) - Kurt Dağ - Afrin crossing (= Puruna) is much more topographically intelligible than that of Forlanini. The combined troops of Hassu and Halab would have opposed Hattusili on the Kurt Dağ, and after his victory he would have crossed the Afrin and sacked Hassu. Its identification with a large MBA - LBA site east of the Afrin has been variously proposed: Til Beshar¹³⁴ or Oylum.¹³⁵ This whole

¹²⁵ The Kartal Dağı, so marked on most maps, is the range between Islahiye and Gaziantep; the Kurt Dağ, less often marked, is the southern extension of the Kartal Dağ between Kırıkhan and the Afrin valley and town of Afrin. Cf. Miller (2001: 90-93), who incorrectly names the Kartal-Kurt range as the Kara Dağ (north of Gaziantep). He also fails to observe the significance of Shalmaneser's passing directly from Mt Atalur to Hazazu.

¹²⁶ Miller, *ibid.* 74-77

¹²⁷ Del Monte and Tischler 1978 s.v. (Gewässernamen) Puratti (incorrectly listed there); error corrected Del Monte 1992, s.v. (Gewässernamen) Puruna; Wilhelm 2006-08, s.v. Puruna.

¹²⁸ LSU 6, 3-4 (Güterbock 1940: 79; Rüster and Wilhelm 2012: 116-117). Forlanini (2013: 10) reads É^{URU} *za-ru-u[n-ti]* following Riemschneider 1958. Forlanini compares the expression with the "House of Hattusa in Sarissa", found on another Land Donation tablet (Forlanini 2013: 10; LSU 3 obv. 29; Rüster and Wilhelm 2012: 92-93). Particularly this example does not have to indicate that the two were close, given that there are some 210km between Boğazkale (Hattusa) and Kuşaklı (Sarissa) as the crow flies, merely that the two places had a special relationship. Furthermore, the [É^{URU} *luhuz*]*zandiya* in LSU 6 does not have to be the place of that name in Cilicia, it could also be the one in Elbistan, which is difficult to rule out (see below).

¹²⁹ Statue of Idrimi, l. 68, É^{URU} *za-ru-na*^{ki} (Dietrich and Loretz 1981: 201-268).

¹³⁰ See also von Dassow (2008: 37-38 with fnn. 88-91) for the thesis that Idrimi invaded Kizzuwatna west of the Amanus and that ALT 3 is the document signalling the end of that dispute as settled by the Mittanian king Barattarna.

¹³¹ Argument first advanced in Forlanini 1979, reiterated in 2001: 555f.; also 2013: 9-13.

¹³² Following Cornelius, Laroche and Astour (for refs. see Wilhelm 2006-08: 119).

¹³³ See also Wilhelm 1992: 28-30; Archi 2008: 98.

¹³⁴ Archi 2008:100; 2013: 221.

¹³⁵ Ünal 2015: 27-32.

topic has been the subject of a very detailed examination by Miller.¹³⁶ Suffice it to say that his conclusions generally agree with those presented here.

5. Kizzuwatna in the North?

Despite the tendency in modern scholarship to move the main cities of Kizzuwatna down from Cataonia/Cappadocia and Elbistan into Cilicia, there remain a number of factors and particular texts which are difficult to interpret without having at least a northern La(hu)wazantiya, probably even northern reaches of Kizzuwatna on the Anatolian plateau. Most importantly, the town of Luhuzattiya, which is assumed to be the same name, forms an important part of the Assyrian trading network in the Middle Bronze Age, being an area that one reached after crossing the Euphrates at Hahhum.¹³⁷ The most likely location for this crossing point will have been Samsathöyük.¹³⁸ The placement of Luhuzattiya in or north of the plain of Elbistan seems very likely, and may have left a trace in the classical place-name Lycandos. It is possible of course that the name moved down into the plain of Cilicia, with which Elbistan is linked by the Ceyhan river, along at least part of which a Roman road also led from Elbistan, but there are a number of indications that a northern La(hu)wazantiya continued to exist and that the area of Kizzuwatna itself may have reached this far inland from the coast in Cilicia.

One of these is a text from Maşathöyük which seems to indicate that Lahuwazantiya was associated with this area north of the Taurus.¹³⁹ Another is the correspondence mentioned at the beginning of this chapter between the “Priest” in Kizzuwatna and the official Kassu in Maşathöyük (ancient Tapikka) in central Anatolia concerning the fate of 20 persons who are in the region of a place called Zikkasta, near Maşat, apparently on loan from Kizzuwatna.¹⁴⁰ Both officials complain about misuse of personnel and protest that each of their domains constitutes a “primary watchpost” (*hantezzis auris*), i.e. a defensive position on a border. It is theoretically possible that an exchange of personnel has been effected (and abused) between the geographically distant areas of the Adana plain and the central Anatolian plateau. It may however be more prudent to assign the Kizzuwatna side of this exchange to a more northerly region than classical Cilicia, namely somewhere in the region of classical Comana. During the troubled times of the early 14th century during which the Maşat letters were written, this may well have been a temporary border position.

The region of classical Comana, the modern plain around Tufanbeyli, is separated from Elbistan by the Binboğa Dağları and from the Kayseri-region by the Tahtalı mountains, through which the Gezbel pass leads. On this pass-route is found the rock inscription of Hanyeri, and further Hittite landscape monuments with hieroglyphic inscriptions can be found along the short stretch of the Zamantı Su leading to the west in the shadow of Erciyes Dağı: Imamkulu, Taşcı and Fraktin. The Fraktin monument contains images of Hattusili III and Puduhepa making offerings to Tarhunza and Hebat respectively, while Puduhepa is described as “daughter of *kà-zuwa-na* beloved by (the) god(s)”.¹⁴¹ This reference to Puduhepa’s Kizzuwatnian origin on a monument to the west of Comana, on the other side of a major pass through the mountains, can be interpreted as an indication that the limits of Kizzuwatna lie in this region, although this is not a necessary conclusion.

Direct links between the Elbistan-Tufanbeyli region and that of Plain Cilicia during the Hittite period might be evidenced in the places of origin of one of the scribes of the ritual of Palliya of Kizzuwatna, who is described as the *asusatalla*-man of Hurma. This Hurma is presumably identical with the Hurma known from Old Hittite texts as well as the Hurama of Old Assyrian documents. This has also been located in the Elbistan area, including at Karahöyük Elbistan. The Tufanbeyli region is

¹³⁶ Miller 2001b: 65-101.

¹³⁷ Forlanini 2004a; Barjamovic 2011: 133-143.

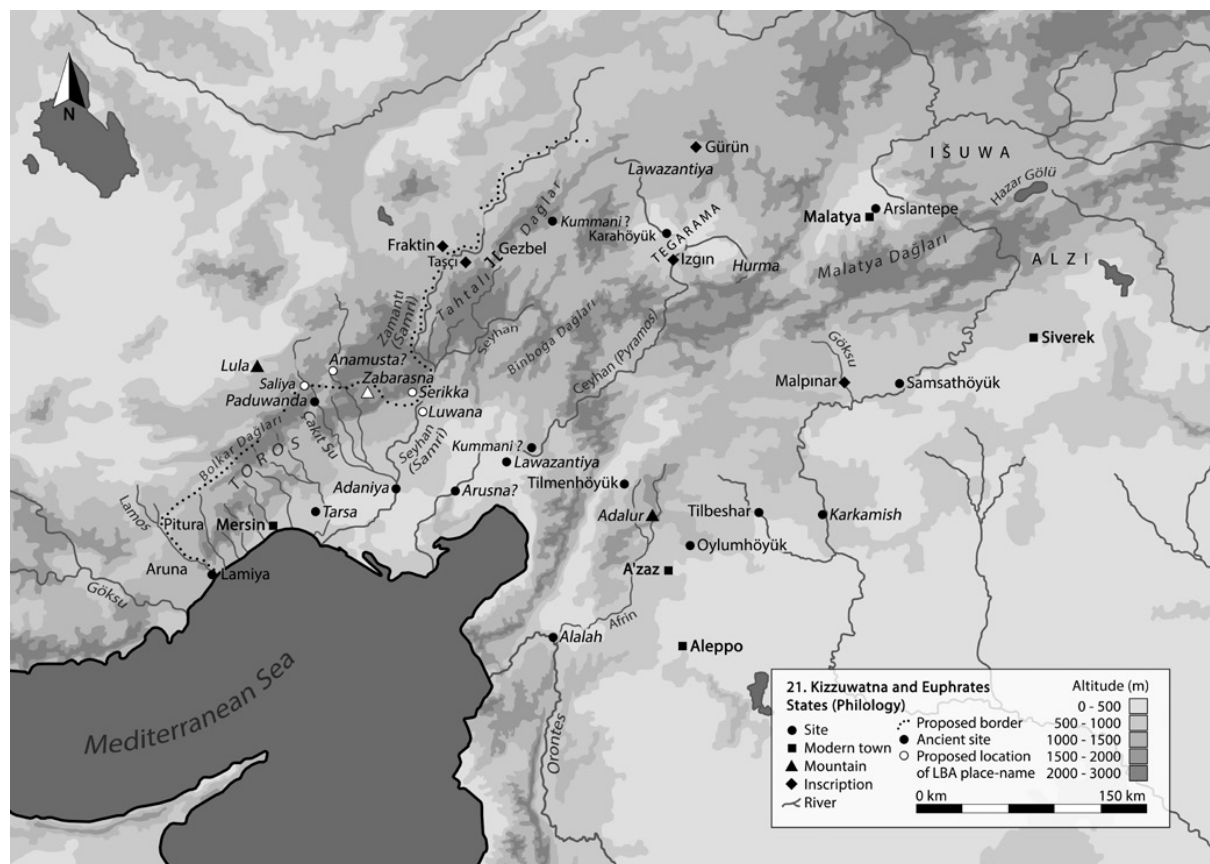
¹³⁸ Barjamovic 2011: 87-107.

¹³⁹ [URU] *la-h[u-u-wa-za-an-ti-ya]* HKM 96 rev. 20’ (Alp 1991: 300). See Alparslan this volume.

¹⁴⁰ HKM 74 (Alp 1992: 262; Hoffner 2009: 235). Possibly related to the same affair is KBo 18.69, see Marizza 2009: 185-187.

¹⁴¹ Ehringhaus 2005: 59-65.

also linked with Plain Cilicia along the Seyhan river. A key element of the Kizzuwatna border referred to in the Sunassura Treaty was the Samri (= Seyhan). We have been given cause to believe that this may have been only partially identical with the Seyhan in Hittite eyes, its tributary the Zamantı Su possibly also being a good candidate for a Kizzuwatnian border-marker, which leads us up to the Gezbel pass once again. If Kizzuwatna is this much larger area, bordering the Euphrates States and giving access to Syria from at least two directions, its importance for Hittite history is far more considerable than if it were restricted to the area of Classical Cilicia, although this is doubtless where its centre must have lain, at least during the Empire period.



INSERT FIG. 21.1 HERE

21.1 Map showing proposed locations in Kizzuwatna and the Euphrates States. The dark circles and triangles with names in italics indicate where the authors think there is a higher probability of an ancient localisation being correct than in the cases of the white circles and triangles.